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For Future America

> "Was the Mayflower launched by cowards, Steered by men behind their time? Turn those tracks toward past or future, Which made Plymouth Rock sublime?
>
> *Lowell*

WERE all that is asserted by the Brewers, the Raskobites, the Romanists and the Defeatists true as to the failure of prohibition since it became national and the difficulty of ever enforcing it, still every one who has had any adequate experience with either local option, state-wide prohibition, government sale or the attempt to enforce any other restrictive or regulatory system, would be enthusiastic for nation-wide prohibition under the Constitution. He would still be heartily for the continued enforcement of it and against repeal.

This law looks to the future, when the backward element of the population has been educated by its influence up to the standard of total abstinence and the legitimate use of alcohol, and drinking alcohol has become as much outside the habits of Americans as is the practice of polygamy today. And this will come.

What then? The public will simply quit thinking about booze. It will have gone outside of the ordinary experience and violations will have become occasional and sporadic.

It was this looking to the future that was the characteristic mental and spiritual attitude of the Pilgrims of 1620. Religious liberty they had in Holland, but they wanted an English country with religious liberty and they sought to found a Christian, Protestant, English speaking, tolerant nation. Neither present hardships, calamaties, the intolerance of many of their associates, nor the seeming hopelessness of the adventure daunted them in their enterprise. America as she is today is their reward.

Such was the spirit which created the original Constitution. Probably not one fourth of the people really favored it. Yet they looked forward to the time when the people would die for it. The United States as she is today is their reward.

Such was the spirit that wrote the XIII, XIV, and XV amendments to the Constitution. Few expected the slave holding South to accept Negro equality as to political rights immediately. Such was the spirit which carried the Eighteenth Amendment. Every really intelligent citizen knew that it would take time to alter the habits of the first and second generations of European immigrants in our industrial centers. Their reward is that the results of prohibition, as Senator Shepard said, "surpass our expectations."

But the chief hope is still in the future. Not more than one fourth that is said about the failure of prohibition is true any where in the United States. Not even in the slacker states. Not one tenth of it is true as to the earlier prohibition states. How much more can every supporter of prohibition, with confidence, satisfaction, calmness and hopefulness look forward to the future when the average citizen has forgotten all about drinking alcohol and we are using it for heat, light and power.

The Wet Metropolitan Press and Prohibition

THE greatest power at work in America in breaking down prohibition enforcement, nullifying the Eighteenth Amendment, restoring to a legal status the outlawed liquor traffic and encouraging lawlessness and crime is the wet metropolitan press.

This wet press is leading an agitation against prohibition which, in magnitude and intensity, exceeds any agitation in the history of our country.

Never have the great and powerful newspapers of the country thrown the whole weight of their influence so nearly unanimously on the side of any great public question before.

Never have they begun to give the space, to say nothing of the display, to any public controversy they have been giving to prohibition.

Never have they exhibited so strong a bias in their treatment of any subject as in their treatment of this one.

Never have they ceased to be *news*papers and become propaganda organs to the same extent as they have in their treatment of prohibition.

Never have they so grossly abused the "freedom of the press" and their obligations to the public and the government as a public service institution, as in this particular case.

Never have they violated the "ethical standards" which they themselves have set up and adopted for the conduct of their papers to the extent they have in their treatment of this subject.

Let it be understood that not all the newspapers of the country are in this class. Most of the rural, the town and smaller city newspapers and some of those published in our large cities are for prohibition. They are giving it a square deal. But while these newspapers largely outnumber those which are against prohibition and doing everything in their power to destroy it, the latter are the great and powerful newspapers which dominate the newspaper situation and have by far the larger proportion of the newspaper circulation of the country.

No other agency is exerting an influence against prohibition to be compared with that exerted by the wet metropolitan press. It is high time the friends of prohibition face this fact and devise means to meet their opposition.

Here is another fact about the wet metropolitan press. Nail it down! These papers *are not now,* and *never were,* against the liquor traffic. They never were for national prohibition. It was won in spite of their powerful opposition. They were also against state prohibition and, for the most part, back in the days when the liquor traffic was licensed and regulated, they opposed the enactment of all laws, national, state and local, which were designed to increase the restrictions and lessen the evils, of the liquor business. Their attitude toward the liquor traffic since prohibition came in is what it was before—one of friendliness and support to this inherently evil and lawless business.

The case against the wet metropolitan press can be set forth under two general headings. A. Their unfair treatment of prohibition news. B. Their unfair editorial treatment of prohibition.

Their Unfair Treatment of Prohibition News

THE first and chief function of the newspaper is to report the news—the daily happenings—true to fact and fairly. This means in relation to a great public question like prohibition that they will publish prohibition news, that favorable and that unfavorable to it, in such a truthful and balanced way that their readers will have the materials for forming a correct judgment of their own on this question rather than that the newspaper by distorting prohibition news shall attempt to force its own preconceived views of this question on its readers. This is a sacred duty which as a public service institution the newspaper owes to the people and the government.

In their treatment of the news relating to prohibition these great wet papers have miserably failed to meet this obligation.

So strong is their bias against prohibition that they have not hesitated to publish as news, reflecting adversely upon prohibition, what was false and without foundation of fact.

Knowing that many people read only the headlines of newspaper articles, they have used headlines which give misleading and false views of what actually happened as it appears in the body of the prohibition article that follows.

They publish a great volume of news—all that can be gathered—which is, or can be twisted into being prejudicial to prohibition and suppress all but a trickle of news that is favorable to it.

They "play up" the news against prohibition by the many devices known to newspaper editors, such as headlines, position, volume of space, large body type, wide margin, etc., and make as inconspicuous and obscure as possible what news they do publish that reflects credit on prohibition. For examples. When there is a "spontaneous" wet uprising, paid for by the brewery-backed Association Against the Prohibition Amendment, of a bare thousand in Boston over the "Black Duck" incident, the story is a feature for the first page. But when 20,000 Boston Drys packed the city's largest auditorium in a dry mass meeting (which nobody paid them to attend) the story goes on the second page with a small heading and one-third as much space. When the "I'm Alone" was sunk as a rum runner reams of front page publicity unfavorable to prohibition were given to it and the wet press proclaimed it editorially as a prohibition international complication. But when the members of the "I'm Alone" crew were found guilty and jailed, the wet press carefully suppressed this and it took a dry paper to discover that "Canada has no intention of further questioning the authority of the United States Revenue agents to fire on the vessel, which was of Canadian registry." When Mrs. Charles Sabin expounds the views of the pro-liquor society women they give a two column display heading reporting it. But when the General Federation of Women's Clubs emphatically reaffirms its support of the 18th Amendment, the story goes on page six with a single column headline. And so forth ad

infinitum.

They have colored prohibition news—giving it a liquor "slant"—mingling wet propaganda with highly colored news stories in such a way as to influence their readers against prohibition unjustly.

Their bias is most manifest in their unfair interpretation of the news relating to prohibition, artfully mingling together what is against prohibition and omitting what would counteract this and thus drawing unfair inferences regarding the prohibition situation. The wet press has deceived its readers by publishing prohibition articles purporting to have been written by unbiased observers of public questions but which have been actually written by newspaper men in the employ of organizations against prohibition and paid by them to reflect their own views.

That the people of the country shall be given truly and fairly the news on this great public question of prohibition is a matter of profound importance. As public service institutions, it is the sacred obligation of the newspapers to do this. In this the wet press of the country has signally transgressed. They have been unfair to prohibition, the country and to their own "ethical standards" as newspapers. We would call the attention of the editors and publishers of these great wet papers to what one of the great newspaper publishers of the country who regards his 17 newspapers as a public institution says, "There is no greater menace to our great Republic than the tainted newspaper, whether it be tainted by money, special interest, *or by unfair presentation of the news for ulterior motives.*"

Why have these newspapers violated the "cardinal rule of the newspaper desk" in their treatment of this subject? Is it because they are subsidized by the liquor interests? Is it because they are published and get their chief support in the great cities wherein live most of the wet and alien elements of the country? Or is it because their owners and publishers have a robust appetite for intoxicating beverages?

Their Unfair Editorial Treatment of Prohibition

A NEWSPAPER has a function beyond that of reporting the news. It should be a leader as well as a reflector of public opinion on the questions of the day. It may very properly seek to mold public opinion in the interests of certain causes and the adoption of policies which it believes to be in the interest of the public welfare.

It is freely granted that the wet press has a right to oppose prohibition, to seek the repeal of the 18th Amendment and a change in the prohibition laws, provided it is actuated by consideration of the public welfare and not by monetary or other selfish motives and provided also, that the methods by which it does this are lawful. But it has no right to resort to unlawful and illegal methods of getting rid of prohibition.

There are lawful methods of seeking the repeal of the 18th Amendment. Those wishing its repeal have a right to seek the election to Congress of those who will vote to submit to the states the matter of its repeal. This is lawful. But the wet press has advocated illegal and unconstitutional methods of getting rid of it. It has advocated enactment by Congress, and sometimes by states, of laws to legalize the manufacture and sale of beer and wine which these editors know would be contrary to the plain meaning and intent of the supreme law of the land.

In some cases at least they have thrown the weight of their influence on behalf of the repeal of state prohibitory laws. The 18th Amendment absolutely forbids the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout all the territory of the nation. Its second section gives to Congress and the states concurrent power to give effect to this prohibition by the enactment of statutory laws and, according to the opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States, puts them under positive obligation to do so. In meeting this obligation, Congress and all of the forty-eight states save one, enacted such laws thus providing the instruments by which both Federal and State governments through their respective machinery could carry out their obligations under the 18th Amendment. For a state to repeal its own prohibitory law is disloyalty to the Constitution. The evident intent of such repeal is the nullification of the 18th Amendment while it is still the supreme law of the land. The advocacy of this illegal and unconstitutional method of opposing the 18th Amendment is doing more to break down respect for law and constitutional government a thousand-fold than all the activities of all the radicals of the country. The wet metropolitan press has been guilty of advocating this method.

The wet press, while they may oppose our prohibitory laws, so long as they are on the statute books are under obligation to use their influence to have them obeyed and against their violation. At this point their conduct has been most reprehensible. The case of the wets is based on the assumption that the law can not be enforced. Enforce the law and straightway the bottom drops out of their argument. Fearing this, the strategy of the Wets is to see to it that the law is not enforced. In this the advocates of liquor have been ably aided and abetted by the wet press.

They have refused to respond to all appeals made to them to use their influence to have all people observe the law. When President Hoover addressed the representatives of the press in New York City shortly after his inauguration, he appealed to them to support the government in its efforts for the observance and enforcement of the prohibition law so long as it was the law. The response was most disappointing. Hearst, for example, responded by publishing a full page attack on prohibition and the prohibition law in his twenty-four newspapers and publishing the same in many other newspapers as an advertisement, thus reaching some 40,000,000 with his anti-prohibition message. The ominous silence of the wet press in advocating observance and enforcement of the prohibition law because it is the law, speaks louder than all its noisy denunciations of prohibition.

But in a positive way they have powerfully encouraged the violation of the prohibition law in the four ways following:

A. By never ceasing to make light of, ridicule and condemn the prohibition law, declaring it can not be enforced and is responsible for bootlegging, political corruption, lawlessness and crime, whereas these intelligent editors know that these evils were here in as large measure before prohibition as now and that the lawless liquor traffic and not prohibition, is chiefly responsible for them.

B. By casting discredit upon prohibition enforcement officers, calling them "dry snoopers," "inquisitors," etc., and when in encounters with bootleggers and rum runners, armed to the teeth, they happen to kill one of this lawless gang, they denounce these officers as murderers and give

the impression that the government in enforcing prohibition is engaged in a wholesale slaughter of innocents. On the other hand they have utterly failed even to mildly condemn this despicable criminal crew who are trampling our Constitution and the flag under their feet, even when they murder government officers. They have even gone so far as to make patriots and heroes out of this criminal gang. If I were a bootlegger or rum runner, I would count the wet press as a chief ally.

C. By denouncing those who believe in and labor to have the prohibition law enforced as "puritans," "bigots" and so far from condemning those who patronize the bootlegger and make his lawless trade possible, they even praise them as champions of the "inalienable" right of a citizen to drink what he pleases.

D. Some of them have even gone beyond this and have come perilously near advocating directly the violation of the law. Here for example is part of a statement which "Vanity Fair" made in its own paper and then later inserted as a paid advertisement in many of our great metropolitan newspapers:

"Break this law; break it repeatedly. Drink what you please, whenever you please. Urge others to drink. Don't betray the bootleggers who are smuggling liquor for you. In every way possible flaunt defiance of the Eighteenth Amendment. Render it inoperative. Ignore it, abrogate it, wipe it out. Whilst it stands there let it be disobeyed."

Newspapers using this advertisement militantly advocating violation of the law and profiting financially thereby, come perilously near being guilty of sedition and treason against the United States. Mr. Wickersham, in addressing the American Society of Newspapers at their recent convention in Washington said, "It is comparatively venal for one to break the law with his eyes open to possible consequences. But to unite with others in openly aiding and abetting the violation of any law upon the plea that it ought not to have been enacted and can not be enforced is inviting revolution and anarchy." In its attitude toward prohibition the wet metropolitan press is doing this.

What Shall We Do About It?

THERE is a vast amount of righteous indignation over this matter. It is time to do something about it. Something can and must be done.

The power of the metropolitan press is not omnipotent. We won national prohibition in face of its opposition. There is a mightier power in America than that of these great wet papers—the power of the moral convictions and sentiments of vast multitudes of citizens who believe in prohibition and a square deal. Inform, arouse, mobilize these citizens and focus their power upon these newspapers and the situation will soon be met. How do this?

A. Turn on the light. Uncover to the public the unfair and despicable methods the wet press is resorting to to destroy prohibition. Set up the case against the wet press, as we have endeavored to do above, and broadcast it throughout the nation through every possible channel—literature especially prepared and distributed through our prohibition organizations, the religious press, the dry rural press, the radio, etc. Evil exposed is half conquered. Someone has said, "Publicity is the best Dutch Cleanser." Let us use it liberally on these wet newspapers. And in this campaign let us carry at our masthead the slogan, "If it is in the wet press, don't believe it."

B. Let these newspapers and the public know that the wet press, as a public service institution, has been untrue to the people and the government from whom it is receiving special favors. The press of this country enjoys to a greater extent than the press of any other country what is known as "the freedom of the press." This is granted the newspapers here on the ground that they are a great aid to good government. They also receive special consideration from the government in the second-class postage rate granted them. Speaking on this subject Norman J. Radder, formerly on the Editorial Staff of The New York Times, says, "It was because of the newspaper's importance as an aid to good government that it was given special favors in the Bill of Rights and through the second-class postage rate." In their unfair treatment of prohibition news, in their failure to support the government in its efforts to enforce the prohibition law and in their encouragement of those who are violating it, these wet papers have proved themselves unworthy of these favors.

C. By protesting to the editors and publishers of these wet papers. These protests should be intelligent and fair, courageous and persistent and followed up with bull-dog tenacity. Let those who are able to do so, protest in person, both individually and collectively as representing themselves or organizations. Let a much greater number, all those whose righteous indignation is stirred when they read this wet press propaganda, protest by personal letters. Anyone can do this. Do it yourself, get others to do it, get organizations to do it. And keep it up! This will have its effect.

D. By getting into the columns of these wet newspapers whenever possible with letters answering this wet propaganda and setting forth the case for prohibition. Here is an opportunity many of these papers offer and it has not been taken advantage of as it should be.

E. By hitting the pocketbooks of these wet newspaper magnates. If you can shift from a wet to a dry newspaper do so. The newspapers get three-fourths of their support from their advertisements. The advertisers in their columns who are for prohibition and law enforcement can be very persuasive with the editors and publishers of these wet papers.

E. By calling upon Congress for a thorough and searching investigation of the wet metropolitan press, their methods and motives of opposing prohibition and how they get the finances for their gigantic, anti-prohibition propaganda; and along with this investigation to look into the powerful monopoly that is developing in the newspaper business and how these newspaper barons are using their power; and whether these great papers given "The Freedom of the Press" and subsidized by the United States government in the second-class postage granted them, are living up to their obligations as public service utilities. Congress is investigating many other matters of far less consequence.

The Influence of the Daily Newspaper

Do we realize the tremendous power of the daily newspaper in moulding the thinking of the people of our country especially on public questions?

The American people are the greatest newspaper readers in the world. According to the "Editor and Publisher International Year Book" for 1930, the total circulation of the daily newspapers of the United States is

39,425,615. As there are about 21,000,000 dwellings and 25,000,000 families in the United States, this is an average of one and three-fourths newspapers for every family and nearly two for every dwelling in the land.

Here is an influence which in the number it reaches and the constancy of its appeal exceeds anything else in the land. The public school reaches 25,000,000 children and youth five days of the week nine months of the year. The Sabbath Schools of all the churches reach about 60 percent of their total enrollment of 21,038,526 of all ages once each week. Counting two readers for each newspaper, here is an institution that reaches 80,000,000 every day of the week throughout the entire year.

Practically everybody who can read at all reads the daily newspaper to some extent. Many people saturate themselves with it. Many people read nothing else. They rely on the newspaper for their information on all the questions of the day. The newspaper's greatest influence is not with the educated man, who does his own thinking, but with the multitudes who are not educated and who do little thinking for themselves. Chester S. Lord, for 33 years managing editor of the New York Sun says, "The newspaper's greatest influence is not in persuading persons who have learned to think for themselves. It is exercised on that great mass of our population that has no other source of information than the newspapers. They depend on the newspaper for information, explanation and suggestion. These are highly receptive. They accept conclusions readily and are easily led by artful groupings of facts, rather than by arguments requiring much thought."

Henry Ward Beecher said, "Do you ever stop to think that millions have no literature, no school and almost no pulpit but the press? Not one man in ten reads books, but everyone of us, except the very helpless poor, satiates himself every day with the newspaper. It is the parent, school, college, theater, pulpit, example, counsellor, all in one. Every drop of our blood is colored with it." And in Beecher's day we did not print nearly two daily newspapers for every home and a Sunday newspaper for every dwelling, with some 5,000,000 copies to spare. Neither did the newspapers of his day contain information on nearly so many subjects as they do today.

What the newspapers claim for themselves may well be true—"The newspaper is the leading influence in the life of the American people."

Menace of the Hearst Press

IN the fight for prohibition, the Christian Sabbath and the Christian standards of morals in public life, the Hearst newspapers are a power to be recognized and reckoned with. That our readers may be duly impressed with their magnitude and power we give the following list of the Hearst owned and controlled newspapers with the circulation of each as obtained from the "Editor and Publisher—Year Book" of 1930.

	Circulation	Sunday Edition
1. New York American (m)	219,880	1,060,031
2. New York Journal (e)	82,677	
3. Boston American (e) & Sunday Advertiser	260,263	492,972
4. Chicago Herald & Examiner (m)	420,903	1,156,203
5. Chicago Evening American	540,516	
6. San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner (m)	186,795	365,540
7. San Francisco Call-Bulletin (e)	115,012	
8. Los Angeles (Calif.) Herald (e)	225,525	
9. Los Angeles Examiner (m)	205,915	438,719
10. Oakland (Calif.) Post-Enquirer	60,172	
11. Seattle Post-Intelligencer (m)	101,005	164,031
12. Georgia Georgian & Sunday American	63,982	128,962
13. Washington (D.C.) Herald (m)	64,031	135,936
14. Washington (D.C.) Times (e)	91,970	
15. Baltimore News (e) & Sunday American	151,914	174,204
16. Milwaukee Wisconsin News (e)	101,219	
17. Albany Times Union (e) & Sun. Telegram	38,343	42,257
18. San Antonio (Tex.) Light (e)	40,342	72,811
19. Detroit (Mich.) Times (e)	303,905	252,176
20. Rochester (N.Y.) Journal (e) & Sun. American	53,702	67,394
21. Syracuse (N.Y.) Journal (e) & Sun. Telegram	67,416	97,473
22. Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph (e)	178,315	355,895
23. Omaha (Neb.) Bee (m)	59,976	
24. Omaha (Neb.) Bee (e)	56,101	
	3,689,879	5,004,604

Nearly one out of every ten of the daily, and nearly one out of every five of the Sunday newspapers that go into the homes of the people of the United States is a Hearst paper. Here is power. Nor does this take into account the Hearst "Feature Service" which many other papers use, nor the Hearst magazines.

As to the menace of the Hearst press. The story is related that when Hearst went to New York to enter journalism he debated whether he should found the best or worst newspaper. The story may not be true but there is no doubt about which kind of newspaper he has fathered. It is the judgment of Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor of the Nation and formerly of the New York Evening Post, that "he has done more to degrade the entire American press than anyone else in its history." He furthermore says that even among his own followers many have doubted his sincerity and intellectual honesty; that he is as unstable as the winds; that he can blow hot in one city and cold in another at the same time.

The Hearst papers are a menace to the peace of the world. There is not a more jingoistic press in the country than the Hearst papers. Their power is constantly being used to misrepresent, ridicule and damn prohibition. If they have not actually preached violation of the prohibition law, their whole treatment of prohibition has bred disrespect of the prohibition law and led many to violate it.

They show an utter lack of respect for the sacredness of the Christian Sabbath and are always in the forefront of the fight to break down our Sabbath laws and secularize, commercialize and degrade the American Christian Sabbath. They portray crime, lawlessness, filth and lewdness in their columns to a greater extent, we believe, than any other newspapers of the country.

Among the menaces to public morals, law, order and good government and decency in America today, we would name as one of the chief, the Hearst Newspapers.

Here is a tremendous power constantly at work moulding the thought of the people especially on the great problems of the day. Are we conscious of its power? Are we giving sufficient attention to it?

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The Wet Metropolitan Press

It is the belief of The Christian Statesman that the greatest power militating against prohibition in America today is the wet metropolitan press. Without doubt it is influencing public sentiment against prohibition, increasing the difficulties of the government in enforcing the prohibition law and encouraging its violation. The time has come for the temperance forces of the nation frankly to face this opposition and use their best brains and efforts in meeting it.

Believing this, we are giving large space in this issue to the discussion of this subject and suggesting ways in which this wet press propaganda can be met. With the idea that one of the most effective things that can be done is to set up the case against the wet press, we have undertaken to do this at considerable length. And because the newspaper business is heading up into a great monopoly which is dominated by the great metropolitan papers which are the head and front of this newspaper opposition to prohibition, we have undertaken to inform our readers on this subject.

We invite the careful attention of our readers to this entire discussion. If it commends itself to you and you wish extra copies of this issue you can secure them at the rate of ten cents per copy by writing to us, 209 Ninth Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

We are taking the best of what appears on this subject in this issue and publishing it in four page leaflets of about 1,200 words each, to give a wider distribution to the information and suggestions herein given on this vitally important subject. These can be obtained at the rate of $1.00 per hundred.

Series of Prohibition Leaflets

The National Reform Association is publishing a series of Prohibition leaflets. Each leaflet has four pages of about 1,200 words.

The following four leaflets have been highly commended and widely used already. Three give the high points in the dry testimony presented before the Judiciary Committee of Congress in the recent Wet and Dry Hearing—"Prohibition a Success," "Liquor Traffic Always Lawless," "Government Control?" The fourth, "Lest We Forget," sets forth pre-prohibition situation in Pittsburgh.

These, together with similar leaflets on "The Wet Metropolitan Press," referred to elsewhere in this issue and which will be ready for distribution within a few days, can be had at the rate of $1.00 per 100.

We must redouble our educational work to maintain prohibition and make it effective. Order a supply. You can also help by sending us a contribution to extend their distribution.

Newspaper Mendacity

"Prohibition has been its own most dangerous enemy. The daily record of its imbecilities, violences, of its invitations to crime and social degradation, has profoundly affected public opinion," says New York Times, Editorially, September 9, 1930.

We have come naturally to expect this sort of a creed frequently in the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains. The men back of them are a sufficient explanation. If every nation should deal with these men as France recently did with Mr. Hearst, and which their conduct as controllers of these chains richly deserves, they would have to spend the remainder of their lifetime, like Hale's "Man without a Country," on the ocean. There are few sensible Americans who would not welcome such an outcome of the present newspaper situation in our country. Socially and politically, Jack Diamond, who is receiving a taste of this medicine, is a trivial liability compared with them.

We have supposed that the New York Times was above that sort of journalism. But if it is to be judged by this utterance it has descended as deeply into the fifthy gutter of newspaper mendacity as any newspaper in America.

Just analyze this statement. "The National Prohibition law has caused men to act like imbeciles, it has caused violence, invitations to crime and social degradation." Everyone of these assertions is plainly a lie. It is the world-wide liquor organization that has caused these things where they exist and not the National Prohibition law. Even a moron knows it. The organized liquor traffic produced them more abundantly under the old license system than it is doing today. It is producing the same results under the Canadian and the Sweedish "Bradt" systems and the same sort of social conditions under the British system. Let this editorial writer read the Liquor Organs of the years between 1900 and 1919 and learn a few things of which he seems either to be stupidly or willfully ignorant.

This writer might just as truthfully charge all of these things to the Harrison Drug Act or the Mann Act or the tariff laws. Exactly the same sort of a case could be made out. But he knows perfectly well that the American public would not stand for that sort of drivel in anything else than the prohibition discussion. He may as well open his eyes to the fact that they will not much longer stand for it in that discussion either.

The "record" he speaks of is doubtless the conditions of the Metropolitan area of New York City. Well, let New Yorkers clean up. It is the state and not the Federal government that is to blame. Conditions are no worse there than they were twenty years ago and he knows it. If they do not like the conditions let them jettison the wet leadership, pass respectable state enforcement laws and elect loyal Americans to enforce them. The Federal government will do it's part quite efficiently.

In the meantime the loyal Americans are growing everlastingly tired of this barrage of saloon mud from the New York newspapers and magazines. It is not the facts of prohibition enforcement that are "profoundly affecting public opinion". These are but little known. That this barrage of mendacity may have changed the opinions of some silly people who are still gullible enough to believe what they read on this subject in the metropolitan press is quite likely. The average loyal, thoughtful American is conscious only of a huge resentment and disgust at this deluge of mud and mendacity that these venial sheets are continually hurling at him. As one said recently "It is about time these Manhattanites came into the union, mentally, spiritually and socially as they are in legally, and will remain legally, in spite of their present passive rebellion."

Key Papers

"The more able a man is, if he makes ill use of his abilities, the more dangerous will he be to the commonwealth." —DEMOSTHENES.

OUT of nearly 2,000 dailies published in the United States, there are only about 200 printed in cities having over 100,000 inhabitants. But these papers of the larger cities constitute the press for "general news."

These are the key papers which collect the news; and even the people who do not read any one of the papers printed in the larger cities, are dependent upon them for news of the world. These papers make up the great press associations which cooperate in exchange of news. These are, therefore, not only moulding the opinions of their own readers, but act as local reporters for the newspapers of the smaller cities and towns. The rural press and the special press take their general news from these key papers.

Among these papers printed in the bigger cities, there are a few very much more influential than others, so that for world-news the whole press of our nation may depend upon the reports of the press associations—the special services of a few of our great metropolitan dailies, such as the Hearst chain-owned dailies.

William Randolph Hearst controls 24 of our great dailies, with a daily circulation of over 3½ millions, and a Sunday circulation of over 5 millions. The Scripps-Howard newspapers number 25, with a daily circulation of nearly 2½ millions.

As early as 1926, Oswald Villard, writing of Mr. Hearst and his press, stated that Mr. Hearst was selling his special news and wire service to more than 2,000 newspapers (not so many now due largely to combines), and that these newspapers together print over 26 millions of copies daily. This for 1926. What for today? *Editor and Publisher The Fourth Estate,* January 4, 1930, states, "Expansion of International News Photos, with Hearst newspapers in all sections of the country acting as regional distribution centers, was announced this week.... The new method, making pictures of all Hearst newspapers available to the service, will have about 20 distributing centers." "The Hearst photo service also is establishing a bureau in Washington and adding new bureaus in Europe."

Ibid, February 15, 1930 "J. V. Connolly, president and general manager Hearst feature service, announced that the King Feature Syndicate, which operates in conjunction with International News Photos, had purchased Central Press Association." Central Press Association includes regular news mat service and many other features. Before this purchase, Central Press controlled Johnson Features and Editors Feature Service. An advertisement of Central Press carried in *Ibid,* March 1, includes these: "Central Press now becomes the predominating complete budget feature service! 600 newspapers rely on Central Press." "Will draw upon King's coast-to-coast chain of bureaus for a speed covering in new mats." "King features the greatest circulation combination on earth." And back of all this is William Randolph Hearst. A man of whom O. G. Villard has written, "He has done more to degrade the entire American press than any one else in its history."

"Democratic government rests upon and requires the exercise of well-informed and sensible opinion by the great bulk of the citizens. Where the materials for the formation of such an opinion are so artfully supplied as to prevent the citizens from judging fairly the merits of the question, opinion is artificially made instead of being let grow in a natural way, and a wrong is done to democracy."—JAMES BRYCE.

Newspaper Monopoly

CONSOLIDATIONS, mergers, chains are in order today in the newspaper world. The trend toward monopoly in the newspaper business is developing so fast that within a short time a very few men will control by far the greater proportion of the newspaper circulation of the country. In newspaperdom a more powerful and dangerous monopoly is developing than has developed in any other field, to which the American people would do well to give attention.

Six years ago there were 2014 daily newspapers in the United States. There are now 1930—seventy less than in 1924—although the newspaper circulation has increased within this period probably six million. This decrease has been due to some papers going to the wall and to the consolidation of others.

The more recent development is the amazing growth of chain-owned newspapers. There are now 59 newspaper chains which own or control 303 newspapers—almost one in every six of all our dailies. Their circulation in 1929 aggregated 15,820,523 which is about 40 percent of the total newspaper circulation of the country.

There are 11 chains which hold 151 newspapers which have one-fourth of the country's circulation and three-fifths of the chain's circulation. There are two chains—the Hearst and Scripps-Howard—with 49 newspapers which have almost one-sixth of the country's circulation and two-fifths of the chain circulation.

The 25 Scripps-Howard papers have a circulation of 2,448,702 which is one-sixteenth of the country's circulation. The 24 Hearst dailies have a circulation of 3,689,879 which is almost one-tenth of the country's circulation. The 15 Hearst Sunday papers have a circulation of 5,004,604 which is almost one-fifth of the total Sunday newspaper circulation. Besides, Hearst's influence is extended far beyond his own newspapers through his "Feature Service" which many other newspapers use.

Here is tremendous power in the newspaper world concentrated in the hands of a very few persons.

Think of 59 chains controlled by probably less than a hundred men with the power to influence the thinking of one-fourth the vast newspaper reading public on the multitude of subjects they deal with, by the policies which control their papers!

Think of two chains dominated by three men who have the power to do this same thing with one-sixth the newspaper readers of the land!

Think of one man, William Randolph Hearst, determining what news shall be given and what withheld, what news shall be given first page prominence and what relegated to obscure places, what slant shall be given the news bearing on great questions before the people such as prohibition and war, what causes shall be supported and what denounced in the editorial columns of the newspapers that go into four million homes daily and are read by probably ten million people!

Has there ever been such concentration of power in any other field—in steel or oil—as is taking place here? And we may expect it to continue at an accelerated speed for these newspaper consolidations are not due wholly to choice but largely to the operation of economic laws, which are compelling the smaller papers to come in with the big ones or go to the wall. An authority in the news-

The Campaign We Must Meet

PERHAPS the most important thing in the present situation of prohibition is for the rank and file of Christian and dry voters to visualize and comprehend the campaign we shall have to meet during the next three years. Most of the dry leaders are beginning to comprehend it now, but not so the average citizen. He is inclined to settle comfortably behind the Constitution, the difficulty of amending it, and the overwhelming dry majority in Congress, and depend upon the education of enforcement to wear out the opposition. From that comfortable position he must be jarred.

An estimate of the relative strength of the two forces, may be a helpful view point from which to understand this campaign.

Of every 100 voters 40 are dry by conviction, 30 are wet from appetite, selfish interest or by delusion. That leaves 30 who are not strong either way. Let the wets win 20 of this last class, and counting on 20 stay-at-home votes for both sides, and the wets would have a plurality of 10. This is what they believe they can do in quite a number of industrial states.

The barrage of wet propaganda which has deluged and disgusted the country, was aimed at these 20 voters and calculated to confuse and mislead them. They are the people who do not go to church, do not take either a religious or a county paper, and depend on the city daily and the magazine for the knowledge of the whole matter. This "drum fire" of propaganda will be kept up. They will defame prohibition and prohibition leaders, ridicule enforcement, abuse the administration, shed crocodile tears over the invasion of personal rights, the imaginary lawlessness of enforcement officers, and brand every county or city police who makes an arrest for the violation of any state prohibition law as a "dry snooper," go into raptures over the Canadian system, extol the virtues of temperance, light wines and beers and all the rest ad infinitum, ad nauseam, for most of us, but not for these 20 easy marks. They will accept most of it as true.

Then will come their state referenda. They may be binding as it was in Montana. They may be merely a large petition as was that in Wisconsin, or that of Illinois will be.

But in either case the object is twofold, to repeal the state enforcement law and increase the number of slacker states, and second to detach Congressmen and Senators from the dry cause. A number have already signified their intentions of allowing such expressions to control their votes in the future. A third result is appearing in Illinois, namely dividing the Republican party and the dry vote on such a referendum and electing a wet Democratic Senator. According to recent reports, this division of the dry force has already taken place. The Anti-Saloon League advising the refusal to vote on the referendum and the support of Mrs. O'Neil for the Senate. The Women's Christian Temperance Union urging a vote on the referendum and the support of Ruth Hanna McCormick.

Their tactics in the south are to eliminate every Democrat that bolted Al Smith in the 1928 campaign and endeavor by every means to prevent such a split in the Democratic party as occurred then. Their policy is also to split the Republican party on the Prohibition issue and further add to their strength in Congress and if possible to elect a wet Democrat for the next President. Just now they are grooming a wet candidate for both parties—namely Dwight Morrow for Republicans and Franklin Roosevelt for the Democrats. The immediate danger is in so increasing their numbers in Congress, that by violent debate and obstructive tactics, they will so hamper enforcement measures that the policy of the administration will break down. Even though they gained every one of these objectives they are a long way from repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. But they are depending upon such a proposed breakdown in enforcement as will make prohibition a stench in the nostrils of every decent citizen and the laughing stock of the whole world.

To meet this the dry forces should again assume the offensive. They should stress the danger of the use of alcohol as a beverage in this mechanical age; show the failure of what the wets seem to be uniting on, "The Canadian System"; point out relentlessly and plainly the personnel of that force, their European connections, their character and their motives. In politics they should slaughter every straddler and every merely political dry. Make the split between the two present parties if possible even though, which is not likely, the dry party is defeated for the present. A campaign is a battle; prohibition is war and as we have carried on for half a century, we can and will if necessary carry on for another hundred years.

But above all, let the Dry's get a single leadership and then hang together. Just now they are like the Allies in 1917, divided in command and driven back by a united force. We can and will win. But it will only be by such campaigning as we have not done since 1918.

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paper world says, "It seems safe to prophesy that the number of newspapers will decrease until even those that are moderately successful have disappeared. Ownership will be more and more concentrated until, quite probably, there are mergers of chains themselves."

Here is a heading up of power, a fast developing monopoly in a field where power is more dangerous than in any other field where we have controlled monopolies, such as in the steel or transportation industries. For the commodity in which newspapers deal on such a vast scale is not goods, but ideas, which profoundly effect the thinking of vast multitudes of our people and the life of the nation itself.

Isn't it time we were examining more closely into this monopoly, whether those wielding this tremendous power are using it rightly, or not, and as to whether some limitations should not be placed upon their power?

The business of issuing a newspaper is not a private business to be carried on merely for money making or to promote selfish ends of the person who owns or publishes it. The newspaper is a public enterprise in a greater sense than the railroads and other well recognized public utilities, with sacred obligations to the public and must be conducted in such a way as to promote the public welfare.

Many newspaper owners and editors recognize this fact and are endeavoring to conduct their newspapers in such a way as to meet their responsibilities to the public. But some of our most powerful newspaper men are utterly failing to do so. They are using their power to inflict untold damage upon the people and nation which they are under a most sacred obligation to serve. As Mr. Gannett of the Gannett chain of newspapers, who conducts his newspapers as a public institution says, "there is no greater menace to our great Republic than the tainted newspaper whether it be tainted by money, by special interest, or by unfair presentation of news for ulterior motives."

Why not ask Congress for a thorough and searching investigation of the newspaper monopoly?

The Schools Make the Nation

(This article and the one following it, are the last of a series of seven, five of which appeared in the previous issue. They are the substance of an extended brief on "Religious Public Education as the Solution of the Crime Problem" which the National Reform Association on June 30, 1930, presented to President Hoover's National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement with the assurance from Chairman Wickersham that it would receive the careful consideration of the Commission.)

* * * *

That is why we have the schools. We make the school the biggest institution under the flag and have a permanent capital investment of six billion dollars in common school property. We spend two billion dollars a year to educate our children. We employ three quarters of a million of the finest, best educated, cleanest men and women in the land as teachers, every one personally picked for the task in hand. We require our twenty-five million boys and girls to go to school nine months a year, five days a week, six hours a day for eleven or twelve of the most impressionable years of their lives. The public school is the most arrogant institution in the nation. In time of war we draft the men to fight. In time of peace we draft the children. We compel them to go to school. We put over them just such teachers as we want. We give them all just such training as we wish. The purpose of it all is to make the nation just what we want it to be.

Benjamin Kidd told us that what we put into the schools will, in from twenty to thirty years, appear in the lives of the people. Japan modernized her schools and in a generation or so became a world power. The Kaiser put militarism into the schools of Germany and in twenty-six years brought on the world war. America put scientific temperance instruction into the public schools and in twenty-eight years wrote the XVIII amendment into the constitution. How simple! How easy to mold the nation to your wish!

Put Mr. Kidd's dictum in different words and retain the meaning and you have this: what you drop out of the schools will in from 20 to 30 years leave the lives of the people. Drop spelling from the schools and in a generation spelling is a lost art. Drop arithmetic from the schools and in a generation the multiplication table would be a Haeckel's riddle. What drops out of the schools, soon drops out of national life. Marvelously simple! Undeniably true!

Now notice. About 1870 the Bible left the school house. We find that about 1900 the churches were slowing up their victorious tread, and they have been moving gradually slower ever since until last year the population grew five times as fast as church membership. Two generations ago God bade goodbye to American schools, and today atheism sweeps the nation. When God and the Bible left the school house effective moral training left also. A generation later the rising tide of crime began. That tide has been gradually rising through the years until today we are the most lawless nation on earth. Perfectly simple! THE SCHOOLS MAKE THE NATION.

We churchmen are very willing to admit that in all but religion and morals, the schools make the nation. But we draw the line at what we consider our job. We proudly boast that it is our job to mold the nation in religious and moral matters. Well if it is, we have made a sorry mess of it for the last half century. If the churches are responsible for the present moral muddle of the nation, they should give up the job. No, we of the churches are not responsible. For half a century we have done our best. During that time the churches have worked as hard as ever, but they have failed to hold the religious and moral character of the nation up to the old standard. How could we expect anything else, when, try as we may and have, we get a third of the children for an hour a week, and the public schools have them all thirty hours a week? Whether we of the churches like it or not, it is time for us to conclude that THE SCHOOLS MAKE THE NATION.

In the light of Mr. Kidd's dictum, it is high time for patriotic citizens to take two positions,

1. That the schools, not the churches, are primarily responsible for the moral and religious character of this nation.

2. That religion must be no longer shut out of the schools by the whim of aliens or put there at the option of teachers, but must be there every day under legal sanction just as other subjects are.

The Test of Experience

Would crime decline and morals improve with the general return of the Bible to education? Probably not appreciably if the Bible was used merely for its historical and literary values. But if its religious and moral message be held up to youth, it should take more than a doubting Thomas to question its value in the directions indicated. Some believe that medicine does good only when given by a skilled doctor of their school. These think that to be helpful the Bible must be taught and explained according to certain pedagogical and psychological rules known only to the initiated. How the Holy Spirit or an untrained parent or teacher could give any help, or how a ten-year-old Lincoln, lying on his stomach by a log fire in a rude cabin with no human teacher, could get any good from the Book is beyond them. Some of us believe that the message of the Bible apart from any human teacher, or perhaps crudely given, and even in homeopathic doses, will have its effect in transforming lives. If that belief is vain, how did the Book do any good before present day pedagogues or psychologists were born? Or how does it do any good where they are not? While not discounting the value of teacher or method, we do insist that any method of getting the Book before youth is better in results than to leave them in ignorance of its religious and moral message.

As long as education was religious, the homes functioned well in morals and religion, the churches had the swing of victory and the moral tone of the nation was high. Soon after the Bible left the school house, the moral value of the home declined, the churches gradually lost their victorious tread, our moral tone dropped below par and crime began to rise.

Many things make comparisons uncertain, and they should not be pressed too far. But certain facts are at least suggestive. Six large cities have read the Bible daily in all their schools for a considerable period of years, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington, Boston, Pittsburgh, and these cities have a lower crime record than any other large cities in the land. They also have the lowest burglary insurance rate. The Bible has always been in the schools of Boston, that city has one of the most polyglot populations in the

(Continued on page 11, col. 2)

Association Activities

Mrs. Lulu Loveland Shepard, after a summer spent in Europe, followed by a visit among relatives and friends in Utah and Idaho, takes up her work again on October 5th. She will begin speaking at South Bend, Indiana, and continue for two or three weeks in that state, where Mrs. Prichard has secured some excellent engagements for her.

Recently, Dr. R. H. Martin addressed the Methodist Protestant Conference at its Annual Meeting in New Brighton, Pennsylvania; and spoke in the Mount Lebanon United Presbyterian Church, Dr. E. C. McCown, pastor; also at a Union Service of the Protestant Churches of Rochester. He attended, September 17th, an Executive Committee Meeting of the National Council of Organizations Supporting the Eighteenth Amendment in Washington, D. C.

After a vacation spent in Canada and at his Chicago home, Dr. Fleming resumed his work October 1st, in Arkansas, on behalf of the Bible in the public schools. Through the work of the National Reform Association, in cooperation with Arkansas organizations, a proposed law for required daily Bible reading will be placed on the ballots in the November election. Dr. Fleming will campaign throughout the State until the election, in the interest of the passage of the proposed legislation.

Mr. Wycliff McCracken of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, is a new member of the field Staff of the National Reform Association, having begun work, September 8th. As already noted in these columns, our Association has undertaken the presentation of the pageant, "The Freedom of Liberty Bell." Mr. McCracken's work will consist chiefly in arranging for the presentation of this pageant in different communities and training the casts for the same. Already, he has arranged for its presentation in the month of October at Ambridge, Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the Protestant Churches and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union; at New Castle, Pennsylvania, in the United Presbyterian Church of which Dr. Copeland is pastor, under the auspices of the Young People's Society of that church; and at Mount Jackson and Bessemer, Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the Ministerial Association.

Mr. McCracken was graduated from Geneva College last June. He has had a thorough college training in public speaking, dramatics and pageantry, and has also had much experience in this type of work both in high school and college. We welcome him as a member of our Staff and here's wishing him great success in this work.

Mrs. Shepard's Letter

From the great western country, my letter comes to you. Just a month ago, I wrote you from the North Sea while enjoying the glorious scenery of the fiords of Norway.

After a delightful visit in Paris, I sailed for my "ain countrie" and was glad to see again the statue of Liberty, greeting me from Bedloe Island. What a happy realization to know that I was home again inspired and heartened by the splendid cruise I had made, that carried me from the Madiera Islands and the northern countries of Africa to the midnight sun of Norway; to think of the privilege that had been mine to study the homes, manners and customs of the people of fourteen countries; to wander through their marvelous art galleries; to marvel at their magnificent cathedrals; to gaze with awe and admiration on the Italian and Bavarian Alps; the ever changing scenery of the Australian Tyrol and to sail on a charming pleasure boat down the Rhine with a constant and ever changing view of ancient and worn castles. When these wanderings were over, I could say joyfully, "mid pleasures and palaces, there is no place like home." And here I am home and ready for the work God in His wisdom has called me to do.

It is most interesting in this great western area, to be able again to study the Mormon situation at first hand and to note the new and dangerous wedges that the Mormons are so quietly and constantly pushing into the political affairs of these states, where they now hold the balance of power.

In Idaho, where, for so many years, they have been growing in numbers and in power, they have been able, through very careful management, to succeed in placing a Mormon on the Republican ticket for governor and to this date, the chances for election are very bright. Some of the Christian workers have been aroused and they are debating the advisability of running an independent candidate against him. The activity of the Mormon authorities along educational lines may be pressed in Idaho in case a Mormon should be elected governor.

In past issues of the Statesman, I have related the controversy in Utah over the Mormons building their church seminaries in close proximity to all secular high schools. They are now attempting the same thing in Idaho. Already such church schools have been built at the University of Pocatello and at Moscow. The whole matter in Utah is still in the hands of an investigation committee.

It is rather pathetic to see the Mormon church turning more and more to their book called "The Doctrine and Covenants" rather than to the reading and exposition of the Book of Mormon.

The Doctrine and Covenants really has *more Mormonism* in it, and it has become more necessary for the church leaders to feed their young people upon this, the first commentary issued by the church, to early imbue them with the faith of the founders. The Doctrine and Covenants is about as long as the New Testament and its authors claim it is an inspired supplement to the Holy Scriptures.

It contains the revelations given to Joseph Smith and other leaders; it relates the historic visit of Jesus Christ to Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon; how they saw the fall of Lucifer and the suffering of the lost people and it revealed the glory that was made possible to those who are not renouncers or denouncers of Mormonism.

All these facts the young Mormon must know as he prepares for his proselyting work among the Christian people of this and other countries. By a constant application to the study of the Doctrine and Covenants, the embryo missionary becomes rooted and grounded in the fundamentals of his church, and he feels able to carry forward truly a glorious message which he desires to proclaim to all the accessible peoples of the earth.

Werner's biography of Brigham Young, written some years ago, so angered the Latter Day Saints, that only recently Susie Young Gates, one of the daughters of Brigham Young, decided it would be a labor of love to write the true memories of her revered, honored and exalted father. Her book is now for sale and proves rather enlightening to those who have familiarized themselves with the life of "this great pioneer builder, organizer and colonizer."

She gives interesting details of his nineteen wives, thirty daughters and

twenty-eight sons; and tells in her opening chapter of her revulsion at lifting the veil which "enfolds the sanctity of her home life." "When the motive prompting inquiry is one of deep interest, I can put aside the feelings of nature, and for the sake of truth and to vindicate the memory of my idolized father and mother, I am glad" says Mrs. Gates "to set down here some facts and items."

She tells most earnestly that the principle of plural marriage was adopted by her father, as it was taught him by the prophet Joseph Smith, after great inner struggles and earnest prayers. He married some of his wives before leaving Nauvoo, Illinois, and Joseph Smith performed the ceremony. Brigham Young often testified to this fact and the Nauvoo record will prove this to be true. This polygamy statement related by Mrs. Gates will cause the reorganized Church of Jesus Christ to take issue with her, as they have always claimed that Brigham Young introduced the doctrine of plural wives and that Joseph Smith was never a polygamist nor did he ever teach it. Brigham Young was early impressed with the economic advantages of the communal family and in the years 1855 and '56 he built the Lion House, so-called because of the crouching lion of stone on top of the front portico. Here he housed the larger portion of his family; a small portion of his household lived in the Bee Hive House. The Lion House was a large and many-roomed, economically planned house of "true New England atmosphere." (?) Today it is used for the Domestic Science department of the Latter Day Saints University. To maintain a household of fifty or more people; to serve three meals a day; to keep up a school system in the basement for the children; to provide for such a large number required much preparation and perfect system, and Brigham Young was the master of his family and no one dared to cross this Lion of the Lord.

Mrs. Gates tells with much pride that only one of her father's wives ever asked for a divorce, and that not one of them ever married after his death in 1877, although several of them were quite young. The great desire of these plural wives to live on Brigham Young's planet throughout all eternity may have been the motive that deterred them from entering into the marriage relation with any other Saint (?).

The story goes on at some length to laud her father and the Mormon church, and her desire seems to be to create a sympathy for polygamy and to show the purity of her father's household during the years of his polygamous relations.

Perhaps in a later article, I will tell you more of conditions in Salt Lake City and throughout Utah.

As you read this, please lift a prayer for Mrs. Prichard and me. We will be carrying on for the Master in Indiana and Ohio.

A Bit of Humor

Humor sometimes throws a vivid light upon social conditions at the time it explodes. Here is a bit from the Chicago Inter-Ocean, back in the Nineties of the last century, in the good old days to which we are being urged to return.

A saloon keeper who was on trial for violating some regulatory laws that they now promise strictly to obey was put on the stand as a witness in his own behalf. He gave more evidence than was bargained for. The examination proceeded as follows:

State's Attorney, Mr....., Where is your place of business?

Witness, What for you ask me such dings? You drinks at my place more as a hundred dimes.

S. A., That has nothing to do with this case. State to the jury where your place of business is.

W., De Shury! De Shury! O my shimminy! Every shentleman on dis shury has a string of marks on my cellar door shust like a rail fence.

His honor here interceded in a calm dignified manner and requested the witness to state where his place of business was located.

W., O, excuse me, Your Honor, you drinks mit my place so many times I dinks you knew very well where I keeps mine place.

Conditions may be bad in the enforcement of prohibition laws but nowhere except on Manhattan Island will they quite approach the conditions here reflected. We would not believe it of them except for their boasts and recent graft exposures. But then they are in open revolt against the Federal Government and have repealed all their state laws against the liquor traffic and they deserve all the trouble they are having.

THE TEST OF EXPERIENCE

(*Continued from page 9*)

land, and yet Boston has the lowest crime record and the lowest insurance rate of any city in the nation. New York City has used the Bible daily in all her schools for 32 years and Chicago has carefully kept the Bible out of her schools for 46 years. In proportion to population New York has less than half the crime that Chicago boasts of, and her burglary insurance rate is much lower. Massachusetts has always had the Bible in her schools, and Pennsylvania has used it in all her schools for 17 years or longer. These two states have vast polyglot industrial populations, but barring two small largely American states, New Hampshire and South Carolina, they have the lowest crime rate in the nation, and their crime decreases while that of the nation mounts by leaps and bounds.

With Washington, we are warranted in saying, "Experience forbids us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

A Regrettable Fact

The barrage of unfair, mendacious, fraudulent, dishonest, lying propaganda, with which the saloon forces have deluged the country during the last year or two is having this effect; it is inducing some gullible people who are really prohibitionists, to peddle their supposed facts by regretful repatition.

To prove this let any one who hears the statement, "there is more liquor consumed under prohibition than when the saloon did business." Ask the person making this assertion two questions. First, "Are you a prohibitionist by conviction?" If he answers, "Yes," ask him, if he is old enough to remember, whether he sees more of it, or is just repeating newspaper rot. If he is honest, he will tell you, even if he lives in one of the wet spots, a great city, that he has formed his conclusions from hearsay; either common talk or newspaper assertions.

It is one of the marks of intellectual inertia and moral and spiritual morbidity, when good people to a wholesale extent can be persuaded to believe a lie and peddle it. Yet this is the state of the American public mind at the present time.

The church press is uniformly attempting to correct this failing and give the people the truth. The county and rural weeklies to a large extent are doing the same. But it is the Protestant ministry, the Sabbath School teacher and the public school instructor, which must ultimately be the resisting force that stands against this "drum fire" of liquor propaganda. The metropolitan daily press is the artillery that the saloon forces of the world are depending upon to batter all opposition into silence. That they have succeeded to the extent of inducing some believers in prohibition to peddle their lies, is a regrettable fact.

Two Pictures

The Liquor Industry In 1915

IN spite of the fact that eleven states were under state-wide prohibition at that time and were living and working under what Dwight Morrow and his liquor confederates are asking for again, that is state option as to liquor control, here is what the liquor traffic was then.

Some sixty or more distilleries were producing the alcohol and whiskey which totalled about 160,000,000 gallons per annum. It required 7,500,000 acres of land to furnish the materials for the breweries in addition to this. The manufacture of synthetic whiskey and gin was carried on more or less under cover. The larger part of the grape production was wine grapes, useless for other purposes. A thousand trains per month, of 50 cars each, were required for the transportation of the volume then produced and consumed. About 250,000 saloons handled and distributed this liquor. They were largely centered in the industrial districts, though every town and village had its own, except where they were excluded by some sort of prohibition. This organization dispensed about 2,000,000,000 gallons of liquor of all sorts each year with an ever increasing volume.

The saloons were, in spite of laws to the contrary, generally equipped with back rooms for women and gambling. Bootleggers were as common then, as reputed to be now, in all prohibition districts. The brewers paid their agents to serve jail sentences as doubtless the liquor rings do now.

The industry largely controlled by the brewers, sold to minors, drunkards, on Sunday, after closing hours, and violated every other law enacted to regulate it. It corrupted politics, bought legislatures, newspapers, and protection. It boldly proclaimed that nickles given in treats to boys came back in dollars from men who were so made permanent customers. It swindled the government out of its revenues so that as large an amount as now goes into the Permit division was required to collect the taxes. It mocked at American ideals, sneered at religion, railed upon detective service, prated about personal liberty and rights, financed the opposition to dry campaigns and fought every enactment and enforcement of every state or county prohibition law, murdered enforcing officers, bombed churches, threatened ministers, and did everything that it is doing today, on a more extensive scale. This was the condition from which the people of the United States delivered themselves.

The Liquor Industry In 1930

IT still has a considerable volume of trade, no one knows just how much. It is largely under cover, driven underground by the enforcement activities of the Federal and dry state governments. Instead of being the most extensively advertised trade in the country, it is now the most elaborately camouflaged. It is still largely owned abroad and financed by Europeans. It is chiefly carried on by Europeans and in the European centers of the United States, and generally patronized by people of recent European origin or sympathy and habit. It is forcing into the United States, and locally manufacturing in hidden stills, about one tenth of the volume that was supplied before prohibition. But now the thirsty one has to seek for it. It does not thrust itself upon him. The rum runner and the bootlegger, the dive keeper and the whiskey broker have to protect themselves by elaborate precautions.

While this industry is still buying newspapers and police protection, the Federal government by fines, siezure of stocks and equipment, means of transportation and communication, by padlocks and prison sentences is inflicting an ever increasing burden of damage and loss upon this trade that runs into millions each month. Home manufacture is carried on but in decreasing proportion. In at least 40 of the states enforcement is carried on with more or less vigor.

Every vestige of legality, and every pretense of respectability is stripped from the trade and those which engage in it. They are outlaws. Every patron of this trade is on the defensive and regarded by worthwhile people as sub-standard in his loyalty and Americanism.

The youth outside of very restricted areas and classes are growing up without coming in contact with liquor in any way. It is simply outside of their experiences and thoughts. Laws against drunkenness are more strictly enforced. While still a political issue because of the paid-for propaganda against prohibition there is no country on earth where it is doing less damage to the homes and the general health and prosperity of the nation than in the United States.

Little would be heard of this trade were it not for the frantic efforts of rich drinkers and the old liquor trade and their foreign allies to convince the American people that they have made a mistake in putting prohibition under the effective power of the Federal government.